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A Modern Cinderella: Race, Sexuality, and Social Class in the Rhinelander Case

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On November 13, 1924, the first public announcements of white scion Leonard Kip Rhinelander's secret marriage to a working-class "colored" woman, Alice Jones, exploded across the front pages of New York newspapers. Although Rhinelander, a wealthy white socialite, ignored family orders and stayed with his wife through the first week or so of the scandal, few were surprised when he ultimately left her and filed an annulment suit. While New York did not outlaw interracial marriages, Leonard's suit reflected the extent of public sentiment against such marriages. Claiming he had not known Alice was black and would not have married her if he had, Leonard, acutely aware of his class station, nonetheless based his request to dissolve the marriage on prohibitions against interracial unions. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that the jury of twelve white married men refused the Rhinelander heir his annulment and upheld the marriage, thereby accepting Alice's version of events and actions.

The "Rhinelander Case" both depended on and challenged contemporary American assumptions about race, class, gender, and sexuality. The nature of these beliefs and the depths of their acceptance and contention were manifested in the extensive and varied national media coverage of the young couple's marriage, separation, annulment trial, appeals, countersuits, and eventual divorce settlement in 1930. In particular, the arguments and evidence presented by both sides at the sensational 1925 annulment trial offer a unique opportunity to examine multiple American reactions to and understandings of the race and class positions of Alice and Leonard. In this article we explore and explain the tremendous amount of interest in the case and its main players, especially Alice. As a working-class black woman, Alice found herself subjected to stereotyped class and race images, but she also generated significant sympathy and support from the New York media and public—both white and black. We argue that this occurred in part because Alice and her family fit a counternarrative of respectability, turning on the rags-to-riches trope popularized in the Horatio Alger and Cinderella stories. As such, the lens of legal and media analysis often shifted focus, gliding from a social interpretation to one that emphasized the naturalized character of race and class. This story, therefore, highlights the critical importance of looking at the relational nature of social relations in racially stratified societies.

Leonard and Alice Rhinelander came of age at a time when hierarchies of race, wealth, and occupation quite overtly structured oppor-

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tunity. By the 1920s, the majority of African-Americans endured institutionalized segregation and disfranchisement in the South and second-class citizenship almost everywhere else. In that social milieu, informed by images, ideas, and social processes as varied as minstrelsy, ragtime, and an exoticized Harlem, race and class worked together to define and refine the meanings of being black or white, poor or rich. Like Alice, many black women found their employment opportunities limited to domestic service and the service industry, encountering middle-class and elite white men most often as servants, and almost always as subordinates. Various political, legal, and social institutions operated to proscribe the sort of boundary slipping represented by the Rhinelander's cross-race, cross-class marriage.

Nevertheless, the Rhinelander case was understood and later remembered as "[o]ne of the most famous 'rags to riches' cases . . . which rocked and shocked the country in the early twenties."[1] Across the racial spectrum, Alice became a "Cinderella girl," a working woman of mixed black and white racial ancestry who managed to overcome, if only temporarily, the barriers of race and class. Her dazzling transformation from domestic servitude and "humble" origins to the ranks of the Social Register and upper-class society fed American mythical visions of economic opportunity.[2]

Alice, however, had won her status though romance and sexuality—entering what one scholar has called the female version of "the American creed" of rags to riches.[3] Surely one of the most versatile fantasy plots of a class-divided democracy, the fantasy of a poor but beautiful and virtuous girl gaining access to the ranks of the rich and powerful on the arm of a handsome prince has enjoyed a specifically American popularity in many forms. In a nation which promised equal opportunity but maintained multiple social hierarchies, the tale may be paralleled only by its masculine version: the Horatio Alger story of the poor-but-hardworking young man achieving upward mobility through adherence to the work ethic.[4] Both versions, and the feminine one in particular, were popular parables of material rewards for character and morality. The image of Cinderella in the early twentieth century, not yet transformed by the 1949 Disney movie version of the tale, contained mixed messages about the class loyalties of Cinderella and her sisters, based on shifting conceptualizations of the relationship between virtue and aristocracy.[5] In general, however, Cinderella gained her place at the prince's side by her good nature, her pleasing physical appearance, and in some versions her ability to literally conjure assistance. While the question of enchantment and deception played a role in the Rhinelander case, we stress here the importance of sexuality and character in Americans' conceptions of social status, class, and race during the early twentieth century.

Indeed, class remained a crucial lens through which the newspaper-reading public scrutinized the Rhinelander case. Along with race, class focused and framed public and courtroom discussions of Alice and

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Leonard's actions. Marriage between whites and blacks was illegal in more than half of the United States in 1924 and hardly commonplace or socially acceptable in the remaining states. By the 1920s many white American scholars and politicians had long lamented the "decline" of the Anglo-Saxon race and feared for the future of America if intermixing continued between blacks and whites—and between native-born white Americans and the "new" Asian or East and Southern European immigrants. In fact, between 1880 and 1920, native-born whites intensified efforts to legislate these concerns into public policy.[6] Even residents of New York, which had never outlawed such marriages and which gained a reputation as an oasis for interracial couples from southern states seeking legitimacy, presented in editorials and public responses strong statements against "miscegenation" despite the extent of sympathy and support relative to other states' coverage. Alice had simultaneously married "up" in economic and social class and "crashed the color line."

In Jim Crow–era America, then, when the Ku Klux Klan and other nativist groups had a lock on the public imaginings of millions of Americans, the search for class mobility was ethnically and racially circumscribed. Despite the democratic rhetoric of potential economic success regardless of one's circumstances of birth, most rags-to-riches stories featured or assumed white protagonists. The conventional American version of the myth might stretch to allow for an immigrant Cinderella, but not a nonwhite one. Economic success was the reward for innocence, moral virtue, hard work (for the working-class man), and virginity (for the working-class woman). These were precisely the characteristics denied nonwhites in popular white imagination and culture. The development of racist stereotypes which depicted blacks and other nonwhites as lazy, sexually promiscuous, and immoral served to justify status quo hierarchies and project the causes of disparate economic, social, and political opportunities onto blacks themselves rather than whites' institutionalized racism. These racial ideologies combined with popular perceptions about the "natural" order of society to structure a reassuring version of mobility: It was for white, native-born, respectable, capable Americans, or those able to make themselves white, respectable, and capable. Thus class mobility was racially structured both ideologically and practically in the early twentieth-century United States.

It was in this context that public and media fascination with this modern Cinderella story turned a glaring spotlight on the young Leonard Rhinelander and the former Alice Jones. Amid the various versions of Alice and Leonard's not-quite-storybook romance, their character, sexual behavior, and appropriateness for each other were all brought into question during the five-week public annulment trial. Under this spotlight, what made Alice worthy or unworthy of Leonard's love and name involved a complex and varied understanding of their character and their family and social positions. As reactions to the marriage and annulment trial of Leonard and Alice Rhinelander revealed, class, like race, was and is a relational and socially

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constructed category. The class and race standings of Leonard and Alice both defined and were informed by various interpretations of their motives and behavior in dealing with each other before their marriage. In other words, their character and virtue illuminated the question of whether their marriage should be annulled. Further, their class and racial identities became the defining motifs, even when conspicuously absent from discussion, for judgments of their individual and combined behavior and character.

From the first astonished announcements of their secret marriage, both the interconnectedness and the importance of race and class were highlighted by major city newspapers, including those published by blacks. Although the breaking story of their secret wedding in the local *New Rochelle Standard Star* proclaimed "Rhinelander's Son Marries Daughter of a Colored Man," most initial articles omitted overtly racialized language.[7] The nationally read *New York Times*, for example, announced in more measured tones, "Society Youth Weds Cabman's Daughter," while the *Detroit Free Press* elaborated with third-person outrage: "Society Shocked by Marriage of Rhinelander to Daughter of Cabman."[8] Other papers, however, followed the *Standard Star*, repeating the announcement, the rumors, or the denials that a Rhinelander had married not only a cab driver's daughter, but an African-American cab driver's daughter. Nationwide, editors had to filter conflicting reports and decide what to believe or at least what to print regarding Alice's racial ancestry. Some chose to ignore the issue of race until local reporters uncovered legal documents which identified Alice's father and sister as "colored."

As these headlines suggest, both in their descriptions of Leonard and in their assumptions that the Rhinelander name would be recognized, Leonard belonged to one of America's most venerable and aristocratic families. He represented that small slice of America customarily off-limits to the majority. Elite schools, chauffeurs, tutors, expensive trips, his own car and disposable income—all were his birthright. His father, Philip, and other relatives controlled real estate holdings valued in the millions through the family-owned Rhinelander Real Estate Company based in Manhattan. Moreover, the Rhinelanders were, by marriage and by descent, related to several founding families of New York. As one newspaper reminded its readers,

> By her marriage, the now Mrs. Leonard Kip Rhinelander becomes niece-in-law to Mrs. Walton J. Oakley herself, descendant of one of the proud old families who were powers when the Vanderbilts were yet Staten Island farmers. The famous old jurist, Thomas Jackson Oakley, and John Cruger, of noble family, who came to America in 1700, are among Mrs. Oakley's ancestors.[9]

Ironically, Philip Jacob Rhinelander, probably the namesake of Leonard's father (and his older brother, at least one cousin, and two uncles), had settled in New Rochelle in the mid-1700s.

Alice, by contrast, had grown up in the decidedly more modest and certainly more familiar life of a lower-middle- or working-class immigrant

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family. She was the daughter of English nationals who moved to the United States in 1891. Both her parents, George and Elizabeth Jones, had worked as domestic servants on a Yorkshire estate. After moving to America, George worked in construction and other jobs in and near New Rochelle, by now a small town in Westchester County just north of New York City. He soon purchased a home and property across the street from the Long Island Sound and eventually owned a taxi stand in neighboring Pelham. Alice and her sisters, Emily and Grace, were all born in New Rochelle. The women had limited schooling, and by their late teens all three had joined their parents in the work force. With few formal skills, Alice landed a series of jobs as a laundry worker and a domestic and personal servant working in neighboring homes and establishments.[10]

In many ways, the Jones sisters were representative of the increasing numbers of young American women entering the labor force in the first decades of this century. As historians Kathy Peiss and Joanne Meyerowitz have noted, scores of native-born, immigrant, and second-generation working-class women became wage earners, often moving to cities and towns, gaining employment and (depending on age, religion, ethnic background, and personal circumstances) working for wages on and off across the life cycle.[11] The Jones family, as nonwhite English immigrants, both exemplified and altered the pattern of "new" immigrant workers at the turn of the century. As a racially mixed family whose black ancestry was West Indian, not American, the Joneses fit uncertainly into immigrant and racial hierarchies of social position and work.[12] Indeed, there is conflicting evidence even as to whether they were identified as a black, colored, mixed, or white family in New Rochelle.[13] Occupationally, their positions as nursemaids, chauffeurs, and cooks fell into local and national patterns in a period when overwhelming numbers of African-Americans and first- or second-generation immigrants worked as domestic servants.

A series of oral histories of black New Rochelle residents, many of whom had lived in New Rochelle since birth or childhood, revealed a consistent pattern of domestic servitude. When asked what kind of work was available to blacks in New Rochelle, one native New Rochellean, born in 1900, replied that "[i]f you worked in New Rochelle you did domestic work until about 25 years ago. If you had a chauffeur's job that was considered a top job in those days."[14] Another remarked that "New Rochelle was never meant for blacks. Rich families . . . hired live-in domestics who discovered New Rochelle while traveling here to do domestic work."[15] While European immigrants might expect better opportunities for their children and grandchildren, African-Americans and black immigrants found that their employment opportunities continued to be limited in New Rochelle and elsewhere.[16] These racial and class divisions characterized not only New Rochelle, but communities throughout the North and South.[17]

In their efforts to dramatize and simplify the story for readers, however, many newspapers' "rags to riches" interpretations of the Rhinelander

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marriage exaggerated the humbleness of the Jones family's status.[18] Though George owned and managed a taxicab stand, he found himself consistently reduced to the status of a handyman and "cabdriver" in public portrayals, despite his protests to the contrary.[19] No doubt the picture of a financially independent working black man who owned property and ran a small business conflicted with the evolving narrative of humble black labor so widely accepted both in the North and the South. By the 1920s, northern white philanthropists had joined with southern legislators and some black educators to characterize African-Americans as constituting a loyal, trustworthy labor force; examples of those who aspired for greater material success found their way into black-oriented periodicals, but rarely elsewhere.

How and why these two individuals from supposedly dichotomous social backgrounds had come to meet, fall in love, and (most surprisingly) marry provided grist for the gossip mill as well as broader social commentary. Actually, few seemed to have felt the need to analyze Alice's motives in marrying Leonard very deeply. Whether they believed her constant bashful declarations of enduring love or chose the more cynical conclusion that any woman would have been thrilled to land a Rhinelander, the benefits of the marriage for her seemed clear.[20] What was less apparent to most white Americans was why *he* married *her*. Most believed that the two had been in love; but had he, as he claimed in his suit, believed her to be white throughout their courtship? During the annulment trial it became increasingly clear that he had known of his fiancee's mixed-race ancestry. Nevertheless, the question of his motives, both in marrying and then in filing his annulment suit, were highly contested in pretrial and trial coverage of the case.

Although the question of whether Alice might be legally white had been raised in pretrial statements and commentary, by the time the trial began this question about her racial status had been settled. In his opening statements Alice's lead lawyer, Lee Parsons Davis, admitted that "she ha[d] some colored blood."[21] With his admission of his client's black ancestry, Davis shifted the ground of contention from the classification of Alice's race to the ramifications of that classification. Davis himself spent the next four weeks arguing that Leonard had fallen in love and married Alice with full knowledge of her racial and class background. His knowledge of her race, Davis maintained, was gained through his confessed familiarity with her family, her appearance, and her body. In other words, not only did Davis declare that his client was not white, but he based the bulk of his subsequent defense on the presumed visibility of "colored blood" in her very appearance.[22] On the other hand, Leonard's attorneys, headed by Isaac Mills, had the curious dual task of maintaining that Alice's race was not obvious in her body, her family, or her actions, and of depending on her blackness to justify their client's suit and their own depictions of Alice.[23] That Alice was now unequivocally black provided Mills with the transpar-

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ent strategy of appealing to the racial status quo, particularly as manifested in the general disapproval of interracial marriages.

Mills banked on an American public willing to accept only so much variance in the feminine rags-to-riches tale. Whereas the original heroine might be forgiven for using magic spells to conjure up the material markings of wealth and beauty, for a black woman to trick or win her way into the ranks of the elite white Rhinelanders was unforgivable. Not above resorting to blatant appeals to white racism, Mills at times relied on the simple charge that Alice was not white to render her behavior and her marriage as criminal. In his closing remarks he asked that the annulment be granted "as a matter of public policy" and declared to jurors, "[i]f any one of you had a son, I am sure you would rather see him in a casket than see him married to a mulatto wife."[24] In these oft-quoted passages, Mills implied that jurors should act as if New York also deemed interracial marriages illegal. (Indeed, in many states which did, Alice's actions in encouraging Leonard to legitimize their relations would have been criminal behavior.)[25] While Richmond, Virginia, papers used the case to illustrate the need for New York to legislate against interracial marriage, northern papers placed the blame on Leonard. "Miscegenation, or intermarriage of races, has been abhorred by men for ages," explained the *New York Daily News*. "If young Rhinelander had gone no farther than to place the battered crown of illicit love upon the brow of Alice Jones . . . the present spectacle would be now only an unwritten and unacted drama."[26] Racially mixed people may have been the legacy of illicit contact, but in a social setting where race denoted power, prestige, and privilege, Alice Beatrice Jones Rhinelander had no sanctioned place in the space of the elite and the white.[27] She could have existed as concubine, prostitute, or mistress, as W.E.B. Du Bois pointed out in *The Crisis*, but even in those states which did not ban the marriage, she could not exist as the wife of a man in the exclusive Social Register.[28]

Over the course of the proceedings, however, Mills came to rely on less-overt references to Alice's race. Instead, Mills sought to racialize Alice not only through her ethnic ancestry, but through retellings of her sexual and social behavior, her moral ancestry, and her "low" origins. His legal strategy was straightforward: He needed to besmirch Alice's reputation without materially injuring Leonard's. Improvising on a well-worn theme of the conniving, socially ambitious older woman, Mills sought to introduce a racialized version. He took Davis's admission of colored blood, stitched it to Alice's working-class background, and wove an image of her as a desperate, poor, dark temptress determined to seduce Leonard, stealing in the process his innocence, his money, and his social and racial standing.[29] Similarly, Mills used nonracial language to establish Alice and the Jones family as base social schemers. At such moments, race was present only in its implied connections to sexuality, promiscuity, social demeanor, and class behavior. Through his interpretation of Alice's and Kip's charac-

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ters and motives, premarital relationship, Alice's love letters to Kip, and her family's behavior, Mills sought quite literally to "blacken" Alice's image.[30]

Possibly the most pernicious example of this strategy lay in Mills's portrayal of Alice (and Grace, Alice's younger sister) as "impure." Leonard had actually met Grace first while driving through New Rochelle one afternoon in 1921. When Leonard and an older married friend saw Grace, they stopped and initiated a conversation. Mills informed the court that "[s]he entered the automobile with the man, the plaintiff, and another boy; and rode about with them some considerable time, although they were perfect strangers to her; and finally went off for an hour in the automobile with the man." In an appeal after the verdict, Mills openly charged what he strongly implied in court: "The circumstances proven admit of no doubt that she had sexual relations with the man." Leonard subsequently met Alice through Grace and began to spend time with her. Mills concluded that "[t]here can be no doubt that from the evidence that plaintiff then considered both Jones young women to be loose and immoral, and that he went there solely with a view of having illicit relations with them."[31]

In other words, by accusing the Jones daughters of sexual misconduct, Mills charged that Leonard had every right to assume his relationship with Alice to be primarily sexual. To do so he depended on associations of "the street" and working-class women with illicit morals and even prostitution. Furthermore, his account rested on white America's assumptions that black women were sexually licentious and therefore available to white—particularly upper- and middle-class—men. In fact, Mills was unable to find more than one man (identified by Alice herself in a letter to Leonard) who had been in a relationship with Alice, and surely if he had found proof Grace was in the habit of immediately sleeping with the men she met he would not have hesitated to reveal it in court. Rather, Mills relied on conventional understandings of the promiscuous nature of the public street itself as a location where class, race, and sexuality intersected in the bodies of working women who walked them unaccompanied, and in the men who could contract with them for companionship.

That Grace met Leonard within sight of her parent's house and in fact had brought him home to meet Alice and her parents within a few days of their meeting did not detract from Mills's narrative. Perhaps he hoped that the circumstance of their interracial marriage and ambiguous racial status combined with their modest economic status would be enough to bolster his aspersions. Accordingly, he turned his attention to the parents' character, implicating them as the type who would allow their daughters to take up with men in such a fashion. In particular, Mills sought to blame Elizabeth Jones for her daughter's aspirations and behavior. During his summation argument he roared, "there came into the mother's heart the ambition to have her two younger daughters marry white men. They went to the white church . . . they cultivated white acquaintances and the two daugh-

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ters went out . . . sought white men and brought them home. . . . And this mother, in her great ambition, received them."[32] Elizabeth, in Mills's construction, sought to undo the limits of class by removing the limits of race. Without the handicap of black ancestry, a girl of humble background could possibly eclipse the bounds impose by birth. With some difficulty perhaps, she could marry a blueblood and become a Cinderella girl.

With these accusations, however, Mills began to lose his court and local media audiences. First, Alice's dress and bearing operated to claim a level of respectability routinely denied working women, especially black working-class women. Described as "Spanish looking" in physical appearance, and dressed in expensive, fashionable clothing day after day, Alice used her style and presence as a form of social positioning. Having already refused to limit herself to the world of the working class, she, like many of her peers, chose to dress in the styles of the upper class—but unlike most of her counterparts, she had the gifts and money of a wealthy fiancee and husband to aid her. Second, Alice's family, the source of her supposed immoral working-class background, became evidence of her character and respectability. Alice sat in the courtroom, flanked and protected by her family and relatives—from her "pure white" mother, Elizabeth, to her "honest Virginia Negro" brother-in-law, Robert Brooks.[33] Legally bearing the Rhinelander name, and framed by the devotion of a loving, able, and hardworking family, she was the very picture of a proper woman.

Mills, however, struggled to contextualize Alice's actions through a clever, if thinly veiled, attempt to impugn her family's and particularly her mother's virtue with the constant suggestion that moral character and behavior were inherited, whether literally by blood or more figuratively through socialization. During a searing cross-examination toward the end of the trial, he forced Elizabeth Jones to disclose a long-held secret: She had had an illegitimate child before her marriage to George Jones.[34] Although the identity of the man was never discovered, he was by most reports a relatively wealthy white Englishman who had since settled in Poughkeepsie, New York.[35] Mills expected that this revelation would destroy the character of this most creditable member of the Jones family. Instead it added to the developing image of working-class women as victims betrayed by their supposed social superiors. An elderly white woman who had been observed to stand by and support her daughter every day of the trial, Elizabeth's appearance and behavior gave little evidence of the portrait Mills was drawing. Editorials and on-the-street interviews yielded virtually no support for either Mills's actions or his motives and near-complete sympathy for the Jones family. Most were downright outraged at Mills's treatment of Elizabeth. A poll taken on the street in New York City found nobody who supported Mills in forcing this revelation. Respondents cited Elizabeth's age, the irrelevance of the incident, and her status as a mother as adding to the "disgraceful proceeding."[36]

Less patently, Mills's attack on Elizabeth's character and the Jones

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family recast the image of the Rhinelanders. As their wealth and power stood in sharp contrast to the Joneses', so, too, did their behavior. The Joneses were extolled for their closeness, supportiveness, and willingness to endure public ridicule if it meant the exoneration of Alice. By contrast, in their absence from the courtroom and the proceedings, the Rhinelander family became even more distanced from the average person. Throughout the trial no Rhinelander appeared by Leonard's side to support and defend him. Although his father Philip was widely assumed to be in charge of the suit behind the scenes, he was never directly seen or heard during the trial. Siblings and extended family made no appearances, gave no interviews, and received almost no media attention.[37]

While Mills, and some editors, tried to use this apparent coldness to exonerate or explain Leonard's wayward actions (whether in marrying Alice or in leaving her), for others Leonard's character and behavior became the basis of a general condemnation of elite culture and values. The *Baltimore Afro-American* could not understand "why the Rhinelanders with their culture and wealth did not train young Kip to be a useful citizen instead of a 'tongue tied, brain tied' cake eater, dabbling in money, automobiles, and flappers."[38] Observers came to identify socialites with the sexually illicit world of "sheiks" and "shebas," cake eaters and flappers—that is, men and women who drank and smoked and partied with a disdain for old-fashioned values. In this version, Leonard represented the idle rich and symbolized the decadence and immorality many Americans fearfully associated with the opulent excesses of the period.

Other reactions simply condemned the Rhinelanders and attacked their supposed social and racial superiority. A *Hartford Courant* editorial, noting that only Leonard's "riches" made the marriage and annulment an issue, charged that "[h]e (Leonard) makes an excellent illustration of how a family can run out by reason of its own eminence and success."[39] Similarly, the *Chicago Defender* wryly suggested that Alice be "given a medal for her bravery in marrying Kip (Leonard) and her sacrifice in the interest of redeeming some of the worn-out huguenot blue blood."[40] Such attacks inverted social Darwinist and racial associations of whiteness and upper-class status with fine breeding and moral character. Alice and her family became the ones with true breeding, *real* riches, while Leonard and the Rhinelanders had lost their moral standing, interested only in protecting their family name and line.[41] As the *Baltimore Afro-American* complained of Leonard: "Virtue means nothing to this scion. . . . Blood means everything."[42]

Especially crucial to the lawyers' strategies and media attention were Alice's and Leonard's reported behavior during their courtship. As Mills quickly announced, Alice and Leonard commenced a sexual relationship soon after they met, and there was no contesting this breach of dominant moral standards. The question became not whether they had had premarital sex, but who had initiated it—who was to blame. Leonard admitted on

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the stand to several extended stays at the Hotel Marie Antoinette in New York City, where they had registered as man and wife. One ended only with the arrival of Leonard's father to collect his son and send him away again. Elaborating on his motif of Alice as promiscuous gold-digger, Mills elicited testimony from Leonard that Alice had suggested and initiated physical intimacies and the hotel visits and then used her letters during his absences to maintain his sexual interest. Davis, on cross-examination, pulled admissions from Leonard that he had in fact pursued Alice and initiated sex.[43]

Throughout these confusing days of contradictory testimony, both lawyers read selected love letters, most written by Alice, into the court record. Reproduced verbatim in the New York papers, and quoted nationwide, these letters documented three years of a deepening relationship, most of it spent apart. Running a gamut of emotions, they contained descriptions of her daily activities, her loneliness, her love for Kip, her desire to be married. In the context of the trial, these letters provided concrete evidence of the couple's sexual relationship, their willingness to write of their physical expressions of affection, their open longing for those times during their months and years apart, and their apparent lack of shame and remorse. Mills sought to weave these frank and emotional letters into his representation of coercion and deception, but in publicizing them he also revealed the very obvious love and longing expressed by both Alice and Leonard during the months and years of their separation. One reporter questioned "[j]ust how much good the reading of the missives is doing [for Leonard's case]. . . . About the court, it was apparent that they were arousing a great deal of sympathy for the wife among the auditors."[44]

Nor was Alice the only one willing to describe previous sexual behavior in these letters. Two of Leonard's letters halted the trial for three days and reportedly came close to forcing an out-of-court settlement to prevent publication.[45] When the trial resumed and the "mystery" letters were read, no paper was willing to publish uncensored versions of what one called "the most outrageous and disgusting filth that probably has ever been heard in a courtroom."[46] These letters were deemed so risque that the judge cleared the court of all women and children while they were read. In other words, Alice's were not the only character "weaknesses" to be revealed by the letters and testimony. With the reading of these letters, Leonard's status as a respectable elite young man was strongly shaken.

It was a flaw his lawyers willingly tried to exploit. Needing to explain how a Rhinelander could have been so misguided as to marry a black woman, Mills represented his client as a naive, mentally slow, emotionally vulnerable young man who became easy sexual prey to the older, more worldly, conniving Alice. Although Leonard's stammer and nervousness were evident, the supposed "mental backwardness" and other "afflictions" that had prompted his stay in a Connecticut sanitarium were less clear. But while some papers noted his high grades at an Arizona preparatory school, where he coedited the school paper, many were quite willing to believe him

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to be confused or slow.[47] And when he began to contradict his original annulment claim, his lawyers' arguments, and even his own testimony, stammering, hesitating, and blushing all along, white as well as black editors began to openly wonder what Alice had ever seen in him. The *Hartford Courant* opined that Leonard had "tied himself plainly enough and knew what he was about. The evidence that he knew it has been produced in court, and his own character has all disappeared," further suggesting that Alice had "demeaned herself by marrying him."[48] Even his own lawyer, Leon Jacobs, was quoted by one New York reporter as exclaiming there was "no doubt" Leonard still loved Alice "or he would not be balling up the testimony so."[49]

Many observers found Leonard a curious representative of the white upper class. Already disillusioned with a prince who allowed his wife's private love letters to be read in public court and who revealed details of their premarital sexual practices, many onlookers found themselves increasingly unable to identify or sympathize with Leonard. Just as Alice's blackness was implied by her supposed promiscuity and her character, Leonard's own whiteness and class position were subverted by his words and actions. How, many wondered, could a "real" upstanding white man of class and dignity write such filth?

Competing visions of elite white men as both paragons and defaulters of dominant moral standards complicated the stories of the Rhinelanders' courtship. The initial conflation of Alice's identity (female, black, and working-class) and behavior (sexually active and predatory) began to refigure Leonard's image in the county court and the court of public opinion. During the process Leonard ceased to be simply Alice's superior—he also became her social purveyor. In addition to the week in the New York hotel, Leonard admitted to taking Alice on a trip to New England and telling her parents the couple were chaperoned when they were not. When Davis asked, "What do you think of taking a girl away on a trip of this kind and deceiving her aged mother?" he answered with the self assurance of a man of standing, "I think it's all right if the girl is willing." Seeing an opening, Davis zeroed in to attack Leonard's social standing and privilege. "Is this the way you have been brought up," Davis demanded to know, "to view those below your station in life?" Transforming Alice from the conniving working class girl to the injured, socially wronged young woman, Davis asked one final question. "Would you do this with a girl in your class?" Leonard answered a curt, unconvincing, "Yes."[50]

Leonard's admission that he had pursued Alice and originally had no thoughts of love or marriage brought heavy criticism from northern papers. Addressing the general dangers faced by women domestic workers, the *Detroit Free Press* dryly noted: "A section of an ancient family's code of honor—that a liaison with a housemaid is the privilege of a gentlemen—was written into the record today in supreme court here when Leonard Kip Rhinelander admitted that sordid affair of a rich man and a servant. It

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developed into love later, he said."[51] Whether approvingly or not, then, it was understood that the immunity provided by Leonard's race and class position allowed him to treat Alice as a mistress with minimal responsibility, with little or no regard for her needs or interests. To publicly flaunt this right, however, went beyond the pale of sanctioned social behavior.

The assumption of sexual privilege due to class status also intersected with regionally specific racial interpretations. For an upper-class white man to have a working-class black woman as a sexual partner without consequences was, however hypocritically, considered by most northerners to be representative of southern race relations in which interracial sex could never be legitimate. (In the South, as numerous black editorials pointed out, Kip would have been acting well within social bounds by sleeping with Alice without further responsibility.)[52] While African-American editors generally found it "refreshing [that Leonard] had the moral courage to make this association with the young woman legitimate and normal," for white southern editors the issue of race was enough to justify an annulment.[53]

The black-oriented *Chicago Defender*, aware of black women's vulnerability in the system of race relations that favored the powerful and the white, applauded Leonard for actually marrying Alice. Even when there was love, antimiscegenation laws prevented blacks and whites from marrying, a system which black papers routinely pointed out subjected black women to even greater victimization and released white men from responsibility for their sexual behavior. More typically, the paper's editors realized black women who worked as domestics risked sexual assaults from their white employers. As members of often-underemployed communities their income was often essential to household economies, increasing their economic dependence and precariousness. Black writers, therefore, were acutely aware of black women's struggles to protect themselves and their livelihoods: Leonard's marriage to Alice was at least an honorable and legitimizing gesture. In another black paper, Alice was given the active role in overcoming this social pattern. She was "nobody's fool," the *Broad Ax* suggested. He had "simply wanted to use her as his mistress, but she beat him in his debased and immoral game."[54]

Although we have been arguing that the race and class positions of Alice and Leonard were, like the ideologies of race and class themselves, relational and closely linked to ideologies, moral behavior, respectability, and sexual conduct, the ultimate practical reality of these ideologies was perhaps most strongly reasserted in Alice's racial designation. As a working-class black woman, Alice was bound by race and class in ways that her husband was not. The degree to which Alice's race was primary in American understandings of her identity and place was underlined during one of the most dramatic moments in the court proceedings. Building on his argument that the "colored blood" of the Joneses must have been evident to Kip upon meeting them, Davis insisted in the final week of the

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trial that his client disrobe before the all-white, all-male, middle-class jury. The final piece in his argument, then, was Alice, or more precisely, her body.

Since Alice's race had already been proven by American standards, this moment may be better understood not as a test of but as a consequence of her race. Indeed, the image of a black woman partially disrobing before a room full of white men harkened to slavery, when black men, women, and children, stripped naked, endured the probing hands and eyes of would-be owners. In the close encounter between that history and her present, it was Alice and not Leonard who bore the ultimate burden of race. No one bothered to interrogate him in the same manner. No detectives were enlisted to trace his family tree or to verify his assets. In the lexicon of social relations, even after the unwanted publicity of a sensational trial, he retained his family status and was able to partially escape his fall by quickly reestablishing himself under a false name in Nevada where he became active in community and real estate affairs. By contrast, Alice's ascent into the world of the rich and famous ended when her Cinderella-like marriage dissolved.

That dissolution, however, did not come immediately. On December 5, 1925, the jury decided in Alice's favor and refused Leonard's claim that he had married her ignorant of her race. Little information is available to tell us why the jury rendered this verdict. Interviewed by the *New York World* after the trial's end, the jurors reported that they rendered the verdict for Alice despite their unanimous disapproval of interracial marriages.[55] It was also widely assumed that her body did indeed, as Davis suggested, prove to the jury that her blackness had been evident to Leonard before they married. Perhaps even more damaging to his case, several witnesses (a chauffeur and a local reporter most notably) had testified that Leonard knew she was black but didn't care.

It is interesting that most northern and midwestern papers had predicted that Leonard would win at the same time that they reckoned the weight of evidence to be against him. Although New York betting odds reportedly ran five to one in favor of a verdict for Leonard, the reason was that "no jury would compel a member of the aristocratic Rhinelander family to live with the mulatto daughter of a taxi driver . . . despite the fact that all concede that evidence in the trial to date has gone almost entirely against him."[56] The *Baltimore Afro-American* agreed that racism would probably determine the outcome and noted before the verdict that "[e]very intelligent Negro is following this notorious case with keenest interest . . . to see whether the courts in New York, where there is no civil distinction on account of race, will allow such sinister influences to operate in the back part of the judicial mind."[57] When the jury quickly returned a negative verdict, black and white papers alike dubbed it a triumph of the justice system over race prejudice. The *New York World* called it "a just verdict. . . . the only verdict that could have been justified by the evidence."[58]

Given the popularity of its composite ideologies, Mills's amalgamation

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of race, class, character, and sexuality backfired to a surprising extent, particularly in the Northeast and Midwest. This failure, and the verdict upholding the Rhinelanders' interracial and interclass marriage, did not, however, indicate a rejection of race and class ideologies. The narrative of a humble working girl marrying the rich scion, which gained an early emphasis in national reporting, quickly rejoined the combustible mix of opinion on class, race, and place in American life.

After the verdict, some editors and journalists sought to understand the full significance of the case and its outcome for race and class loyalties and structures. One black magazine offered the observation that "The Rhinelander case . . . is . . .[not] wholly racial, for in it are blended the more common features of class and caste in the affairs of sex."[59] Interestingly, the black-owned *New York Age* also sought to downplay the racial implications of the case, claiming that the verdict indicated that class loyalties rather than racial divisions had moved the jurors.[60]

It was not only black-published papers that sought to mitigate the centrality of race in the Rhinelander case. On the contrary, as we have suggested, the perceived class positions of Alice and Leonard played an important role in determining public interpretations of their character and motives. As an "aristocratic blueblood," Leonard was too far removed from the average American, black or white, to be a sympathetic character. Alice and the Joneses, on the other hand, were able to achieve a level of sympathy, respectability, and identity with the reading public despite their mixed racial identities and the interracial marriage. Editors and readers outside the South sympathized with their supposed class aspirations. "Entirely aside from the difference of race," a Reno editor found no evidence of the deceit or manipulation Mills charged Alice with:

> The girl knew of course that Rhinelander would be very wealthy some day and her dreams were to go to Europe and live a life of ease and enjoyment far away from the simple home surroundings to which she was accustomed. Such reveries are not criminal nor do they constitute a conspiracy. They are enjoyed by millions of girls that are not wealthy and one of the reasons for the success of the cheap novel and the romantic "movies" is that they satisfy this aspiration of young women. Theoretically, there are no different castes in a democracy, but as a matter of fact they do exist in America and many young men, as well as young women, wish to lift themselves into what they think is a broader sphere. This girl that married Leonard Kip Rhinelander is the same as many others.

In other words, Alice and her marriage became closely identified with popular cultural themes of cross-class romance and upward mobility. The "tragedy of color" headlining this editorial referred to her inability to complete her rags-to-riches transformation due to her black ancestry.[61]

The possibility of class mobility, at least for exceptional individuals, is a

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near-universal fantasy for the lower groups in class-divided societies. In the United States, where the limitations of that promise were clearly restricted to those who were white in appearance and ancestry, the story of a black woman, even a black woman who apparently appeared white or near-white to some, marred the fantasy. Racially based images of Alice as a conniving seductress thus competed with a version of the rags-to-riches Cinderella tale. Some could therefore find the magic of her charm, appealing looks, uneducated pen, and expressions of sincere love as compelling a narrative as the overused trope of the conniving working-class girl willing to use her body to curry favor and gain material success.

As much as anything, this "modern Cinderella" tale reminds us of the importance of viewing class, race, and sexuality as historically relational. The Rhinelander case enhances our understanding of American working-class history by adding the story of the Joneses—an obscure mixed-race family—to the more common story of immigrant and labor history. In addition, it calls into question how we study class difference in racially stratified societies. As the story reveals, exploring class structure in isolation from structures of meaning can distort rather than clarify. This is why an analytical use of race is central for research on workers in racially stratified societies. The story of Alice and Leonard vividly shows that class, like any other factor informing historical action, was and is constantly being made and remade. By paying attention to this process of construction we may better appreciate the momentary logic underlying the contradictory ways historical actors write themselves into being, and the consequent effects on the meaning and practice of class for workers in many settings.

NOTES

1. Ralph Matthews, "Modern Cinderellas: They Made Their Own Slippers, Crashed Color Line to Fame and Fortune," September 20, 1947, n.p., in *Charles A. Barnett Papers*, Part Three: Subject Files on Black Americans, 1918–1967, Series I: Race Relations, 1923–1965, Chicago Historical Society, microform ed. (Frederick, Maryland, 1984) Reel 7, File 378–2, 810.

2. Roi Ottley, "5 Million U.S. White Negroes," *Ebony*, May 1948, 28. In fact, this article specifies that Alice was considered a "Cinderella girl" by "her colored associates in New Rochelle." To avoid confusion, we use first names to refer to the Rhinelanders and their family members. Leonard was more commonly referred to as "Kip" by the media.

3. In her brief analysis of the presence and development of "Cinderella" and other European folktales in the United States, Jane Yolen connects its popularity in a rags-to-riches form here to "the American creed . . . that even a poor boy can grow up to become president [and its] unliberated corollary . . . that even a poor girl can grow up and become the president's wife." "America's Cinderella," in *Cinderella: A Folklore Casebook*, ed. Alan Dundes (New York, 1982), 296.

4. Whatever its early incarnations, Cinderella in America became equated with "sudden recognition or wealth"; *The Oxford American Dictionary*, s.v. "Cinderella" (New York, 1982).

5. For an excellent analysis of this historical shift in the Cinderella story, and its relationship to industrialization and the emergence of capitalist class-based societies, see Elisabeth Panttaja, "Going Up in the World: Class in 'Cinderella,'" *Western Folklore* 52 (1993):85–104.

6. The passing of the Immigration Exclusion Act in 1924 represented the culmination of decades of nativist anti-immigration activism and legal restriction. The act limited and in some case virtually excluded immigration from certain nations, based largely on ethnic and racial

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grounds. The same year also saw the congressional decision to confer citizenship on all registered Native American tribes, but specifying that such citizenship did not repudiate their status as wards of the federal government. These movements, along with the already-institutionalized disenfranchisement of African-Americans, effectively limited full citizenship to whites, and particularly to those represented in the first century of European immigration. In addition, an increasing number of states considered or passed antimiscegenation laws at the turn of the century.

7. *New Rochelle Standard Star*, November 13, 1924, 1.

8. *New York Times*, November 14, 1924, 1.

9. "Jones Girl Linked With Old Family By Wedding Here," *New Rochelle Standard Star*, November 14, 1924, 1.

10. All papers at least mentioned the Jones's occupations and background, with local coverage being the most detailed. For example, her hometown paper emphasized Alice's former jobs "employed in various New Rochelle and Pelham houses . . . and now a member of a family far more exclusive than those in which she was at one time a servant." The headline summarized the situation: "Pretty Smile Greets Those Who See Wife of Kip Rhinelander. Former Nurse and Waitress in New Rochelle and Pelham Homes Now Member of Family of Prominent New Yorkers." *New Rochelle Standard Star*, November 14, 1924, 1.

11. Kathy Lee Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in New York City, 1880 to 1920* (Philadelphia, 1986); Joanne Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880–1930* (Chicago, 1988).

12. For a discussion of black immigrants in New York city during this time period, see Irma Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900–1930* (Bloomington, 1996).

13. In 1905 and 1915 the state census listed the entire family as "white," and the New Rochelle city directories, which identified "colored" residents until 1918, did not list them so. In 1925, after the marriage announcements, but before the trial, state enumerators listed George Jones as "colored" but Alice as "white." New York State Census, Westchester Country, City of New Rochelle, District 6, Ward 2, June 1, 1915, Westchester County Historical Society (WCHS); *Richmond's Directory of New Rochelle, Including the Pelhams* (Yonkers, 1906–1928).

14. Marion R. Forstall, interview with Henrietta Mills, December 8, 1980, in "Voices and Profiles of New Rochelle's Rich, Color-Full History (Fall 1980; A Sequel)," New Rochelle Public Library, Local History Collection, January 5, 1981.

15. Marion R. Forstall, interview with Oscar Parnell, April 2, 1980, "Voices and Profiles of New Rochelle's Rich, Color-Full History," New Rochelle Public Library, Local History Collection, May 19, 1980.

16. Another interview, of a woman who had moved to New Rochelle in the 1930s or 1940s, indicated that most of the members of her husband's black church were domestic workers and that "most people came as housekeepers and workers for the whites in New Rochelle." Marion R. Forstall, interview with Willie Rayne Carrington, April 3, 1980, in "Voices and Profiles of New Rochelle's Rich, Color-Full History," New Rochelle Public Library, Local History Collection, May 19, 1980.

17. For documentation of African-American women's work as domestic laborers, see Tera Hunter, "Dominance And Resistance: The Politics Of Wage Household Labor In New South Atlanta," *Labor History* 34 (1993):205–20; Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, *Living In, Living Out: African American Domestics in Washington D.C., 1910–1940* (Washington, 1994).

18. A *Cleveland Gazette* editorial complained about the New York reporters' "slurs . . . ever referring repeatedly to her 'alley home'"; December 26, 1925, 2.

19. George Jones's objection to being called a cab driver made the headlines in at least one paper: "Hate Flares In Annulment Battle Of Kip, Alice's Father Hurls Epithet at Mills for Reference to 'Hack Driver,' Unexpected Outbreak Startles Court Room." *Detroit Free Press*, December 4, 1925, 3.

20. One article referred to Alice as "[t]he New Rochelle girl who at one time was a nursemaid [and] has thus passed over the heads of many hundreds of 'would be's' to secure this high honor in society." *New Rochelle Standard Star*, March 11, 1925, 1.

21. This admission was widely reported (e.g., "Colored Blood Admitted By Mrs. Rhinelander's Counsel . . . Davis Grants Client's Origin 'To Simplify Matters,'" *New Rochelle Standard Star*, November 10, 1925, 1) and reflected in the final round of complaints and

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answers filed after the start of the trial; New York Supreme Court, Westchester County, "Answer to Second Amended Complaint, December 3, 1925.

22. For further discussion of the significance of these assumptions of race, the question of racial passing, and white American tensions over determining racial identity, see Heidi Ardizzone, "Body of Evidence: Racial Identity in the Rhinelander Case," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Studies Association, Pittsburgh, November 9–12, 1995.

23. As Davis's counterpart, Mills (a more experienced former judge on the verge of retirement) led a team that included his son, Isaac Mills, Jr., and Leon Jacobs, who seems to have been a long-time Rhinelander family lawyer.

24. *New Rochelle Standard Star*, December 2, 1925, 1–2.

25. Jack Greenberg, "Domestic Relations Law," *Race Relations and American Law* (New York, 1959).

26. *New York Daily News*, November 21, 1925, 13; *Richmond Times Dispatch,* November 17, 1925, 1; *Richmond News Leader,* November 28, 1925, 8.

27. *Baltimore Afro-American,*, December 12, 1925.

28. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Rhinelander," *The Crisis*, January, 1926, 112–13. Alice was indeed listed in the Social Register as Leonard's wife. This listing was later omitted and Leonard himself was soon dropped from the Register. "Kip Rhinelander's Bride in Recent Social Register of New York Blue-Bloods, Pelham Road Girl Listed With Socially Elect By Advisory Committee," *New Rochelle Standard Star*, March 11, 1925, 1.

29. In his closing argument Mills summarized his depiction of Alice, referring to "the charms of an evil woman . . . comparable in her ascendancy [sic] over young Rhinelander to Delilah in her enslavement of Samson; to Salome; to the dusky Cleopatra with her hold on Mark Anthony; comparable in her charms to Helen of Troy." "End Near In Case of Rhinelander, to Go to Jury Following Brief Charge On Friday," *Birmingham Age-Herald,* December 4, 1925.

30. In effect Mills was, to paraphrase Toni Morrison, "playing in the dark." As Morrison has argued, Americans often talk about race by highlighting its absence. Reviewing the work of a number of American novelists, Morrison observed that even when African-Americans were not central characters the hint of their presence defined both whiteness and Americanness; a dark presence, body, or suggestion created the social and narrative space for others to create themselves as white and normative. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, 1992).

31. New York Supreme Court, Westchester County, #3190–1924, "Affidavit in Opposition to Application for Additional Counsel Fees," July 13, 1926.

32. *New York Daily News*, December 3, 1925, 4.

33. "Review of the News: A Day in the Country," *New Yorker*, November 28, 1925, 9.

34. "Rhinelander Mess Ends! Davis Cried Out In Protest. Kip's Attorney Merciless and Heartless in Questioning Alice's Mother," *Cleveland Gazette*, December 5, 1925, 1. See also "Mother Bares Soul. Compelled to Admit Girlhood Indiscretion as Kip's Lawyer Tears Away Veil Guarding Secret 40 Years," *New York Daily Mirror,* November 26, 1924, 4.

35. *Poughkeepsie Eagle-News*, November 30, 1925, 1.

36. *New York Sun,* December 2, 1925, 17.

37. It should be noted that Leonard's mother had died in 1915, and one of his brothers had perished in World War One. Besides his father Leonard had a married brother, a sister who lived on the West Coast, and several uncles, aunts, and cousins in the New York area.

38. *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 14, 1925, 11.

39. *Hartford Courant*, November 22, 1925, Sect. 3, 2.

40. *Chicago Defender*, November 28, 1925, Sect. 2, 12.

41. For a discussion of the development of racial theories into general understandings of intelligence, morality, and heredity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York, 1996). For the effect of class-based ideologies on "race" see Verena Stolcke, *Race Class and Marriage in Nineteenth Century Cuba*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor, 1989); Virginia Dominguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, 1986).

42. *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 28, 1925, 9.

43. The following sample of headlines illustrates the variation in perceptions and coverage of these letters and the courtship: "Rhinelander A Fluent Wooer. Lost Stammer as He Began Courting, Hospital Record Reveals," *New York Daily News*, November 11, 1925, 2–3;

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"'Innocent' Kip Tells of His First Thrill," *New York Daily Mirror,* November 18, 1925, 4; "Rhinelander Stammers Out His Story of Illicit Love. Rich Youth Admits He Took Initiative," *Atlanta Constitution*, November 12, 1925, 4; "Kip without Sin Till He Met Colored Bride, He Swears," *New York Daily Mirror,* November 12, 1925, 1.

44. *Detroit Times,* November 13, 1925, 3.

45. "Rhinelander to Settle, Report on Adjournment, Mystery Surrounds Unexpected Action of Plaintiff's Counsel—Deny Trial is Off for Good—New Letters Hinted," *New Rochelle Standard Star*, November 20, 1925, 1–2; "'Mystery' Note Halts Quizzing of Rhinelander," *Birmingham Age-Herald,* November 20, 1924, 2.

46. *Chicago Defender,* November 28, 1925, 1.

47. One editorial described Leonard as "[s]tuttering like a big horse fly caught on the sticky fly paper"; *Dallas Morning Register*, November 27, 1925, 4. Another devoted an entire article to the "Defects of Youth Listed by Doctor" including an inferiority complex, stammering, and being tongue-tied; *New York Daily Mirror,* November 11, 1925, 3.

48. *Hartford Courant*, November 30, 1925, 12.

49. *New York Daily Mirror,* November 19, 1925, 5.

50. *Detroit Free Press,* November 19, 1925.

51. *Detroit Free Press*, November 18, 1925, 1,12.

52. The New York black weekly *Amsterdam News*, for example, pointed out that if he had married in Mississippi, "all he would have to do, when Kip (Leonard) got ready to skip, would be suddenly find out that Alice had a few drops of 'colored' blood in her veins, and—presto!—the marriage would have been all null and void." December 2, 1925, n.p.

53. *Philadelphia Tribune*, January 2, 1925, 4. Virginia papers blamed New York's lack of an antimiscegenation law for the marriage and the need for a trial to annul it. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 12, 1925, 6; November 29, 1925, 6.

54. *Chicago Defender*, November 22, 1925, 1; *Chicago Broad Ax*, November 21, 1925, 1.

55. *New York World*, December 6, 1925, 1.

56. *Detroit Free Press*, November 29, 1925, 1; *New York World*, December 6, 1925, 19.

57. *Baltimore Afro-American*, December 12, 1925, 1.

58. *New York World*, December 7, 1925, 12.

59. *Opportunity*, January 1926, 4.

60. *New York Age*, December 12, 1925, 4.

61. "A Tragedy Of Color," *Reno Evening Gazette*, November 16, 1925, 4.

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